1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

But the Euphrates ferment could not be so easily cooled. If one major faction was satisfied by the advent to power of the Ikhā, its rivals were with reason suspicious of a Ministry whose opponents they had recently supported. Yasin Pasha's repudiation of all party preferences, his promise of Deputies' seats to ex-opponents and his dissolution of the Ikhā Party itself were unconvincing. The attempted use of Kashif al-Ghaṭā as pacifier was not successful. The 'Alim was simultaneously approached by the group hostile to 'Abd al-Waḥid, but was unwilling to offend his former friends and temporized. But his completed list of Shi'i demands, not in itself immoderate, created indignation in Sunni circles of Baghdad; and other Shi'i spiritual influence, added to the movements of anti-Ikhā politicians in Baghdad, was not absent from the incitements to further tribal trouble-making which were visible as early as April, and bore fruit in the later spring and summer of 1935.

The first outbreak came in May from the Bani Zurayj near Rumaytha, a traditional storm-centre. Here, with a background of vengeful land disputes and the encouragements of absentee politicians, the arrest of a minor 'Alim led to a rising. The railway line was cut, a Government office seized, appeals for help broadcast. But the Government this time acted quickly. Forces under General Bakr Ṣidqi bombed and dispersed the rebels, captured Shaykh Khawwam al-Ḥajj 'Abbas their leader, and entered Rumaytha. The expected allies from lower Euphrates tribes failed to rally to the rebels' support. But the movement had spread southwards, tribesmen in the Suq al-Shuyukh area were 'out', had cut the line at Tall al-Laḥm and Ur, burnt Government records at 'Ukayka, and fought successfully with the police. The history of the Bani Zurayj and Rumaytha was repeated. Bakr Ṣidqi's troops and aircraft, moving with ruthless speed and spirit, by-passed broken communications (which the frightened tribesmen hastened to repair) and entered Samawa and then Suq. Scores of arrests were made. Nine death sentences and some dozens of imprisonments were pronounced by courts martial[1]—with little discrimination, it was said, between innocent and guilty. The success of the campaign did much, but not enough and not permanently, to correct the subversive and centrifugal tribal spirit which, with sad unwisdom, the politicians of Baghdad had themselves encouraged.

In other tribal unrest of 1935 and 1936 fear of the application of conscription was a major element. Among the Yazidis, who had passed three quieter years, Government saw fit to make no con-

[1] Recourse to martial law, legalized by Ordinance in 1935, was frequent in the period now opening and led to scores or hundreds of rough-and-ready trials by courts martial.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

cessions to their peculiar beliefs and customs, and met their active and passive resistance by sending a brigade of troops in September 1935. This bloodless operation was followed by the institution of courts martial which, with savage severity and no adequate trials, hanged nine of their leaders, including two Christians, and imprisoned 350 alleged resisters. These were later progressively released: but Da'ud al-Da'ud remained a fugitive in Syria, where numbers of his followers tried persistently to join him. The Barzani Kurds, subdued by joint 'Iraqi-Turkish operations in 1933 which captured Shaykh Aḥmad, gave further trouble in 1934 and 1935 under the truculent leader of a considerable force, Khalil Khushawi. This bandit, who for long defied the combined operations of 'Iraqis and Turks, dodged across frontiers from valley to valley and destroyed the villages of all who denounced him. Later in 1935 most of his followers were rounded up, and a dozen hanged; he himself vanished, to reappear in mid-winter and to be caught and shot in March 1936. In Sulaymaniya liwā a similar character, Sayid Muḥammad Pichkola, led looting parties in 'Iraq from a base in Persia. After long-drawn police operations he surrendered in August 1935, and was pardoned. In the same weeks, deep in southern 'Iraq, resistance to conscription was leading the Mudayna village of Qurna to armed protest which called for military suppression.

The year 1936 brought no peace to rural 'Iraq. The incitements to lawlessness first set afoot in 1934, the rancour of never-settled land disputes, the fear and hatred of conscription, and maladroit or corrupt local administration were added to the endemic causes of tribal restlessness. In February insurgence among the Shaṭra tribes brought troops to the Gharraf, and the usual measures quelled the rising in a few weeks. In the Muntafiq an assault on a police post in the Suq area was punished by fines and prison-sentences. In April a section of the Bani Ḥuchaym in Rumaytha district cut the railway, rallied a force of 1,200 armed tribesmen, and heavily engaged troops sent to suppress them. Casualties were heavy, the Army lost ninety men and two aircraft. Reprisals of corresponding severity, with the hanging of rebel leaders after little or no trial and the burning of villages, were reported in Baghdad, there to distress the squeamish and help the Opposition. The 'Akra district of Diwaniya witnessed a rising of the notorious Sha'lan al-'Aṭiya, unsatisfied by his rewards for opposing the Ministry of 'Ali Jawdat. It was not less brutally suppressed by Bakr Ṣidqi in June 1936; and in August a force of the Ṣafwan tribe, near Khidhr in Samawa qadhā, attacked the Government office and, though dispersed, were still unsubdued in the autumn of the year.